1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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Cacao is in great demand. The delicious sub-acid pulp is first sucked from the beans, which are roasted and ground on the chicha board, or stone into a coarse paste. It is the greatest luxury they possess. And still, I have never seen a young cacao tree belonging to an Indian. They depend for their supply on the old trees, planted by past generations. I have known an Indian make a two days' journey to collect a little cacao, when less labor would plant him fifty trees near his house. 222 272

Fishing is rarely performed with hook and line. They have two methods. One is to shoot the fish from a canoe (all the canoes belong to foreigners), or from the shore, or a rock. They use very long arrows, described previously, and are quite expert. Another method is to select a channel of the river beside an island. A frame-work is built at each end, of sticks and cane, which extend completely across the stream. When everything is ready, the people stationed at the upper end rapidly cover the frame-work with the leaves of the cane, so as to stop the water running through. Those at the lower frame, also spread on cane leaves, but thinner, only so as to keep the fish from passing through. Both parties must work at the same time, and as rapidly as possible, because as soon as the fish find the level of the water lowering they attempt to escape, and I was told that it has sometimes happened that every fish has gotten away before the dams were finished. In the course of a few hours the water is so low that the fish congregate in the deeper pools and are shot with arrows, or even taken out by hand. 226

The only divisions of time known are the natural astronomical ones: the day, the lunar month, and the year. A glance at the vocabulary will show that special words are used for day in the abstract as distinguished from night, and for to-day, to-morrow, day after to-morrow, &c., and for yesterday, &c. The month is called by the same name as the moon, "*ai*." The year is counted from dry season to dry season, and is recognized by the ripening of the flower-stalks of the wild cane, on which they depend for arrow-shafts. It is called *da-was'* from this connection. 805

The local diseases of the country are fevers, acquired by going to the coast; or by the hill people, by going down to the low lands. They sometimes seem to become epidemic, due to an unusually wet season, or to the continuance of the rains throughout what should be a dry season. The summer of 1874 was particularly fatal in this respect. Rheumatism is common, especially with the older men. It is brought on by much exposure to rain, and by wading rivers when heated, on journeys. But the commonest infirmities are indolent ulcers, usually on the legs. They originate from any little scratch or bruise, and are the result of the low vital state of the system, due to a bulky but innutritious diet. A wound which, in a person in good health, would heal in a week, may result with one of these people in a sore lasting years, and perhaps at times involving an area twice as large as the hand. 164

Of remedies, they may be safely said to have none. They are learning 757

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe,
262 plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste, and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate,
415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

251 **Food Storage.** Corn is kept in large *habas* (see p. 15), in small raised-off-the-ground houses behind the main house, or on the wooden platforms, or *tabancos*, in the main house. The corn is shucked and left on the cob. Rice, unhusked, and various foodstuffs are also kept in these houses or on the more common *tabanco*. Eggs are hung in baskets of armadillo hide in the storage houses, or on the walls of the kitchen. Smoked fish and meat are also kept on *tabancos* in the kitchen, or hanging from the walls.

272 **Drinks.** *Tivia* (see p. 20), the liquid remaining from cocoa-butter, is drunk plain, or,

[412]

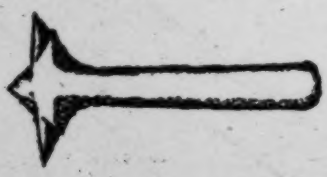

Fig. 2. Wooden masher for chicha; size, length, 22 inches.

at times, ground corn, and, very seldom, ginger is added. *Tivia*, which is also called *kao*, is ground cacao that has been mixed with water, cooked, and beaten with water. It is taken plain without sugar, or it is mixed with roasted ripe plantains.

273 Chicha is made from old corn alone, or mixed with pejibaye, or with ripe or green plantains, or with ñampí, or with yuca, or with diverse starches.

Two kinds of corn chicha are made. One kind is made with a yeast, and consequently is known as *monsera*, which is the word for yeast. This chicha is used regularly at all celebrations, and in some houses almost daily.

[832] The other corn chicha is given by wives to unfaithful husbands to keep them from looking at other women. This last kind is called *punsetti* in Spanish, or *twistʃa'* in Boruca. To make the ordinary chicha, whole kernels of corn are broken or crushed on the *tumba*, then left in water overnight. They are ground again, and the *masa*, or ground corn, is wrapped in a leaf or leaves, usually from the plantain, and boiled as a tamale. When cooked, it is left in the same leaf and hung as

[p. 10-A]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but [272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see [755] fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

415 **Gourds.** One of the most important every-[824] day artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jícara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jícaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

Miscellaneous. Candles are made from wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in every Boruca household. The women rub it in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain remedies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk. This is called *tiois* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[83] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[84] following Pit-

[83] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.
[84] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

[p. 20-B]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[R 12(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

262 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kid-
241 ney bean, as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vege-
[245] tables are grown. In this last region, coffee is
272 raised as a cash crop but is seldom used per-
439 sonally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is
[243] raised primarily for making a fermented drink,
273 chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared
231 (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an ac-
[175] count written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
[243] shelter is not practised except in lower Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
[262] practised. Here the people depend upon bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
[574] quence require chocolate. It is also the most appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--QUALIST]

[70] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[71] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
[361] gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.16(B)]
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272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] [484] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 [272] The most common beverage is chicha, although it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *fiampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] [484] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *bava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

HOUSES

175 342 [361] . . . in which are congregated all those of the same family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves unavailable (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 [192] The modern house is known in both languages as *usurí*, *u* meaning "house" and *surí*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*[1] made by men and 824 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking ves- [272] sels; sticks with a number of little branches left for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] [1] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance
[1] [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

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[P.100(B)]

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FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[8]

(*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

		Red Variety	Yellow Variety
Iron	mg.	1.16	1.31
Carrocin	"	1.945	1.493
Thiamine	"	.070	.037
Riboflavin	"	.140	.099
Niacin	"	1.945	1.493
Ascorbic Acid	"	22.9	41.4

PLANT LIST WITH USES

BRIBRI

	Latin	Use
824 [278] chichikagru	*Smilax* sp.	root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease
[845] apiskicha	*Gouania*	Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used.
• [272] [844] sójkɔ	*Cymbopogon citratus*	for tea and washing skin of new born
klokɔ	*P. auritum* H.B.&K	for tea and washing skin of new born
ɨrekɔ	*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don	for tea and washing skin of new born

CABÉCAR

	Latin	Use
[278] popolí	*Protium* sp.	boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting
[386] b6Lk	*Melastomaceae* sp.	make red dye from the leaf without cooking it
515	*Solanacis* sp.	for teeth, mash leaf to clean them
[278]	*Peperomia* sp.	for heart